KANGURA

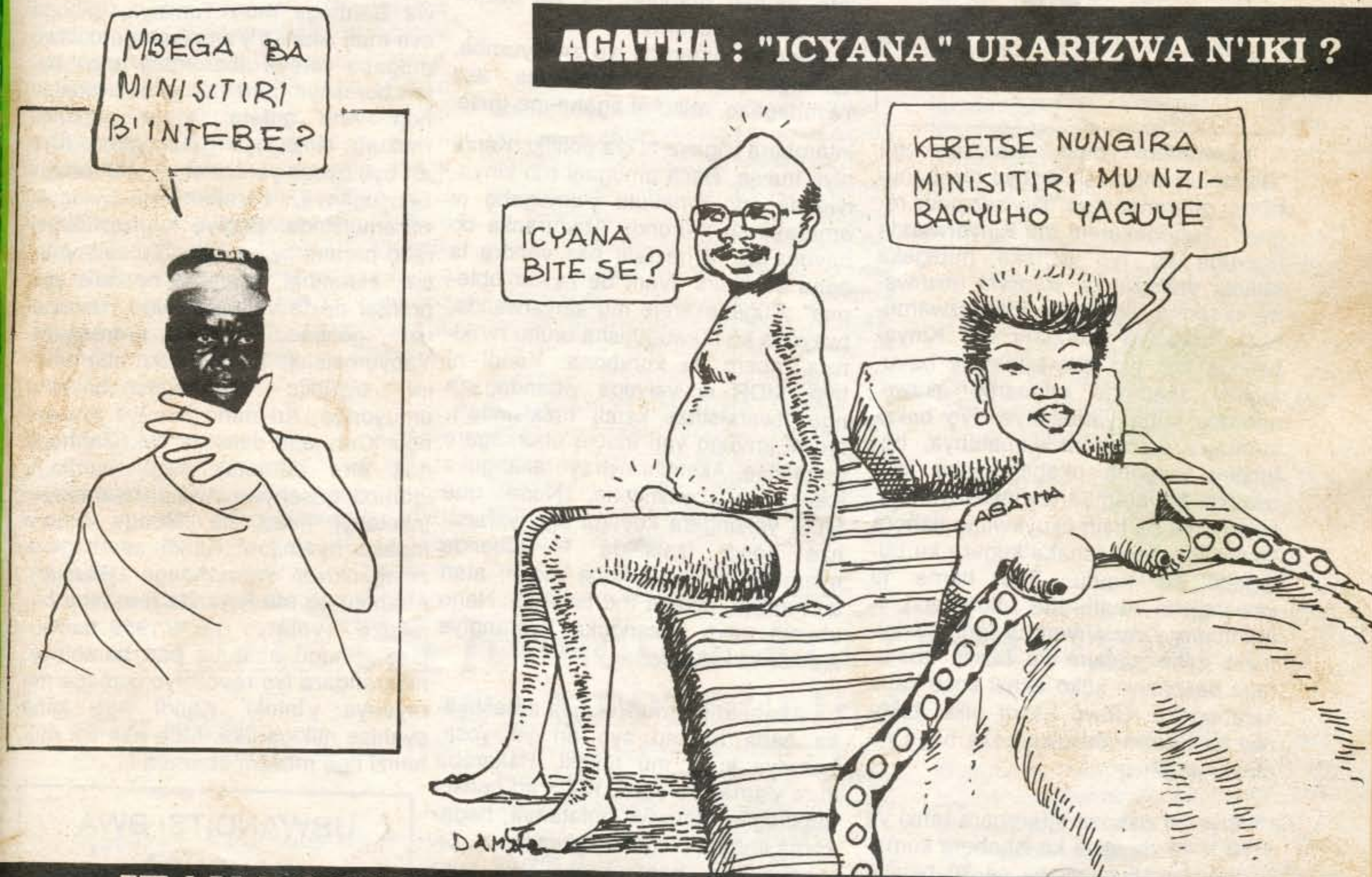
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IJWI RIGAMIJE GUKANGURA NO KURENGERA RUBANDA NYAMWINSHI.

N° 55

JANVIER 1994

AGATHA : "ICYANA" URARIZWA N'IKI ?



JEAN BOSCO BARAYAGWIZA INYENZI Z'ABABILIGI ZARI ZIMWIVUGANYE.

FPR : IRAMUTSE ITSINZE RUBANDA NYAMWINSHI YABA IYANDE ?

NINDE UZAKIRA INTAMBARA YO MU KWEZI KWA GATATU

ABATEGUYE BAKANASINYA AMASEZERANO YA ARUSHA NIBO BAYICA

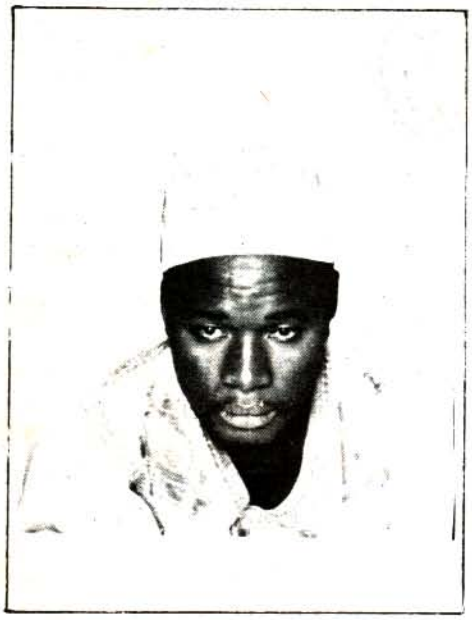
PALIPEHUTU SI KARATASI, SI KOSSAN.

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FPR : IRAMUTSE ITSINZE, RUBANDA NYAMWINSHI YABA IYA NDE?



Abaromani nibo bavuze ngo "Divide uti imperes". Aribyo bisobanura mu gifaransa ngo "Diviser pour régner". Tugenekereje mu Kinyarwanda twavuga ko iyo ushaka gutegeka abantu urabatanya. Bamara gushwana ukabona ukabagira ingaruzwamuheto. Uwaciye umugani mu Kinyarwanda ngo iyo abavandimwe bavumbitse akarenge uvanamo akawe, agomba kuba yaribeshye. Iyo bakavumbitse urabegera ikabatanya, batangira kuryana ukabakoresha icyo ushaka. Mu ntambara y'inyeshyamba, hari ihame ba nyiri ukuyirwana bahora bazirikana iyo bashaka kugera ku butegetsi ku ngufu. Iryo hame ni ukwangisha abaturage ubutegetsi. Intambara y'inyeshyamba igomba kumara igihe kirekire ku buryo abaturage basonzwa kuko akazi kose kaba karahagaze. Ubwo kandi niko ibikorwa by'iterabwoba bikomeza hirya no hino, mu gihugu.

Inyenzi zishoza intambara tariki ya 1/10/1990 zivugiye ko ishobora kumara imyaka 15 cyangwa se 30 bibaye ngombwa. Bamwe babyise ibikino nyamara zo zari zikomeje. Museveni n'inyeshyamba ze bajya gufata Kampara mu w'1986, uburyo yakoresheje busa neza neza n'ubwo inkotanyi zirimo gukoresha muri iki gihe. Museveni yarabanje azana iterabwoba mu baturage, afunga imihanda yagemuriraga Uganda. Abaturage barasonza, baricwa kugeza aho bumva ko ubutegetsi buriho ntacyo bubamariye. Basigara ahubwo bifuza ko yatsinda ariko bakagira amahoro.

Ibyakurikiyeho murabizi. Kampala umurwa mukuru wa Uganda yamaze amezi n'amezi nta muntu winjira, nta n'usohoka. Rwigema na bagenzi be bawufata nta nkomyi. Ubwo kandi niko "imishyikirano" yakomezaga i Nairobi. Icyo abanyarwanda cyane cyane rubanda nyamwinshi ikwiye kuzirikana, ni uko inyeshyamba zafashe Kampala arizo zavuyemo inyenzi ziyise inkotanyi zikagaba igitero tariki ya 1/10/1990. Uburyo izo nyeshyamba zakoresheje zifata Uganda nibwo inyenzi zirimo gukoresha: Uwibwira ko intambara yarangiye ni wa wundi ufite amaso ntabone, ni wa wundi ufite amatwi ntiyumve !

Yego ku rugamba iyo za Byumba, Ruhengeri n'ahandi amasasu asa n'ayahagaze, ariko ni agahenge gusa.

Intambara isigaye ni iya politiki. Kandi niyo iruhije. Baca umugani mu kinyarwanda ngo amavuta y'umugabo ni amuraye ku murundi. Abafaransa bo bavuga ko "il ne faut pas vendre la peau de l'ours avant de l'avoir obtenue". Tugenekereje mu kinyarwanda, twavuga ko ntawugurisha uruhu rw'ikirura mbere yo kurubona. Kandi ni byo. MDR ni yajyaga yihandagaza ngo "twaratsinze kandi tuzatsinda"!. Iyo ni imvugo yari ihatse uburangare buhanitse. Akenshi nyirayo akanguka ibitekerezo byasheshe. None ubu MDR yakongera kuvuga ngo yaratsinze kandi izatsinda ! Rubanda nyamwinshi ikwiye kuba maso, atari ku munwa, bikaba mu bikorwa. Naho ubundi nayo yakanguka byarangiye agakorwa kakozwe.

Abahutu bo mu Rwanda amashyaka baba barimo ayo ari yo yose, bakwiye kuva mu butesi. Bakareba kure y'amazuru yabo. Kuba ari benshi ntibihagije. Bakwiye gufatanya, bagakoma imbere imigambi y'umwanzi. Bitabaye ibyo, bamera nka bwa buro bwinshi butagira umusururu. Abahutu bo mu Rwanda iyo bamaze guhaga sinzi niba bazirikana intwari zagejeje rubanda kuri revolisiyo yo mu w'1959. Abahutu bo mu Rwanda iyo bamaze kurengwa aho bibuka ko umunsi FPR n'abatutsi muri rusane, bafashe ubutegetsi bazaburekura ?

Batereye amaso i Burundi bakibaza. Muri icyo gihugu naho hari abahutu kandi nabo ni benshi. Ariko bakomeje kugandagurwa n'agatsiko ka nyakamwe k'inkoramaraso z'abatutsi, amahanga arebera. Tuvuge se ko abahutu b'i Burundi nta ntwari bagira ? Zirahari ! Ariko se zikore iki mu gihugu umututsi ariwe ugifite intwaro ? Hari intwaramuheto yigeze kuvuga yishongora ku bahutu iti "muzogitwara ari uko iminwa y'inkoho (ndlr : imbunda) yazibye". Indi ntwaramuheto yungamo iti : "On peut tout partager avec les hutu sauf l'armée". Ngo abatutsi bashobora gusangira byose n'abahutu uretse igisoda.

Abazi amateka y'isi bibuka umugabo Hannibal, wari umugaba w'ingabo ukomeye. Yakomokaga mu mujyi wa Carthage muri Tuniziya, igihugu cyo muri Afurika y'amajyaruguru. Uwo mugabo yateye abaromani nabo batari boroshye muri icyo gihe, arabatsinda. Aho gufata Roma, umurwa mukuru, sinzi ibyo yahugiyemo. Ibyo ari byo byose yarazindaye, abaromani barisuganya, baramushushubikanya, baramutsinda. Bagiye kumwishongoraho baramubwira bati :"Tu sais vaincre, Hannibal, mais tu ne sais pas profiter de ta victoire". Ngo Hannibal uzi gutsinda ariko urarangara. Yabyumvishije ashaje kuko abaromaini bigabije Carthage bayigira umuyonga. Ari naho havuye imvugo ngo "Carthago delenda est (Carthage doit être détruite). Ngo Carthage igomba gusenywa. Kandi byarabaye. Inkotanyi nazo ziti "Songa mbere mpaka nyamijos" Kandi zarahageze zihagarikiwe n'amahanga (Minuar). Abahutu bo mu Rwanda rero niba barakoze revolisiyo mu w'1959 bakisubiza igihugu abatutsi bari barabibye, nibarangara iyo revolisiyo izabaca mu myanya y'intoki. Kandi ngo igihe cyahise ntikigaruka. Mbe aka wa muhanzi ngo mbwira abumva !

KAVARUGANDA WIGIZE IKIGIRWAMANA ARI HAFI GUSHYIKIRIZWA INKIKO.

Nta gahora gahanze. Amateka y'isi atwibutsa abantu batari bake bashatse kwiha ubushobozi nk'ubw'Imana ariko ikabereka ko ari yonyine ishobora byose. Niyo rukumbi itegeka isi n'ijuru.

Muri ibyo bihangange twavuga nka Adold Hitler wo mu Budage wibwiraga ko yategeka isi na Napoléon Bonaparte wo mu Bufaransa. Muri Afurika twavuga nka Idi Amin Dada wari kaporali mu ngabo z'abongereza akaza kwigira mareshari ngo woherejwe n'Imana gutegeka Uganda n'abanya Uganda. Ntawakwibagirwa kandi Jean Bedel Bokassa wari umusoda "simple" mu ngabo z'abafaransa akaza kwigira mareshari, agasanga bidahagije atabaye Umwami w'Abami. Yiyita Bokassa Ier ari byo kuvuga ko Imana itegeka mu ijuru, uwahoze ari umusoda "simple" ategeka isi ! Uko ibyo "bihangange" byarangije ubuzima bwabyo ntawarubara. Adolf Hitler washakaga gutegeka isi yapfuye yiyahuye mu gahinda kenshi. Yiyahuje isasu mu mutwe, inshoreke ye Eva Braun ayirebera simu y'injyana muntu, imirambo yabo bayisukaho lisansi barayishumika ihinduka umuyonga.

Idi Amin ngo wari woherejwe n'ishobora byose gutegeka Uganda n'abanya uganda uko byamugendekeye murabizı. Yagiye atareba inyuma ameneshejwe n'ingabo za Tanzaniya zifatanije n'impunzi z'abanya Uganda. Umwami w'abami Bokassa Ier nawe ntiyasobanukiwe. Ingabo z'abafaransa ziri i Bangui mu murwa mukuru wa Santrafurika zifatanije n'abanyagihugu ziramukombora, zimika uwo yari yahiritse, David Dacko. Nta gihe cyashize, uwari umwami w'abami ahinduka mayibobo igenda isabiriza mubo yahemukiye. Kugeza igihe yigaruye mu gihugu cye, arafatwa, arafungwa, acibwa urwo gupfa, bamuha imbabazi afungwa burundu. Cyakora ejo bundi yaje kugirirwa "ikigongwe" arusimbuka atyo. Uretse ko ari hahandi he ? No mu Rwanda dufite ibihangange nk'ibyo byumva ko Imana itegeka ijuru byo bigategeka isi.

Muri ibyo bigirwamana, twavuga igikomangoma Kavaruganda wasanze umwanya afite udahagije, none akaba ashaka kuba Umukuru w'Igihugu. Imigambi uwo mugabo arimo, amenye ko yatahuwe kera. We na Twagiramungu, icyana Agatha n'inkotanyi baracura imigambi yo gukora kudeta bifashishije amategeko yanditse (coup dEtat constitutionnel). Rukokoma wigize Minisitiri w'Intebe (MDR itabizi), arashaka kumvikana na Kavaruganda ushinzwe urukiko rurinda iremezo ry'itegeko nshinga n'inkotanyi bakemeza ko Perezida wa Repubulika atagishoboye gutegeka. Bityo Rukokoma na Kavaruganda bakabona uburyo bwo gushyira mu bikorwa umugambi wabo wo kugabira igihugu inkotanyi. Nk'uko Imana irebera u Rwanda idahumbya, uwo mugambi bawugerageje tariki 5/1/1994, umunsi hagombaga kuba umuhango wo gushyiraho inzego z'inzibacyuho, uburiramo. Ariko ntibari bava ku izima.

Cyakora iminsi y'abo bagabo irabaze. Rukokoma ntiyatanzwe n'ishyaka MDR, yishyizeho. Perezida Habyarimana ashatse yakwaka MDR undi mukandida. Kavaruganda nawe ararye ari menge. Minisitiri w'Ubutabera Madame Ntamabyariro Agnès aherutse gutumiza inama nkuru y'ubucamanza. Mu byo igomba kwiga harimo amadosiye y'abacamanza bigize indakoreka. Muri abo uri ku isonga ni Kavaruganda. Iyo nama izabanza imwambure "immunité" (ukutavogerwa) ahabwa n'umurimo we, ahasigaye ashyikirizwe inkiko. Kavaruganda azaba aregwa ibintu bibiri. Hari:

- Kunyereza umutungo w'igihugu yikorera za "quittance" mu macapiro.
- gusuzugura umukuru w'igihugu. Nabivamo azaba ari umugabo ! Baca umugani mu kinyarwanda ngo ubugiraneza bw'inkware bwayigonze ijosi. Abo bose bigira indakoreka si Habyarimana wagiye abagabira ?

NGEZE HASSAN.

IBARUWA IFUNGUYE KURI PEREZIDA WA REPUBULIKA.

NGEZE HASSAN
Directeur du Journal
KANGURA

Le 26/1/1994

Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda
HABYARIMANA Yuvenali

Impamvu : ***Uruzinduko rwanyu muri Côte d'Ivoire***

Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika,

Tubandikiye uru rwandiko tugira ngo tubagezeho ibitekerezo byacu ku bihe biri imbere. Aha turavuga igihe muzaba muri mu rugendo. Mu nama yahuje abanyamakuru ba Kangura, ku murongo w'ibyigwa harimo aho politiki y'u Rwanda igeze. Twibanze cyane ku byerekeye wa mugambi wari wateguwe wo gukora coup d'Etat constitutionnel. Nkuko namwe mubizi, umugambi waje kuburiramo kubera ubuhanga n'ubwitonzi mwagaragaje muri uno mukino wa politiki. Uko intambara y'amagambo n'amatangazo yagenze murabizi. Ibitutsi biranga abantu batigeze uburere byavuye mu kanwa ka Kavaruganda ntibyari bishingiye ku busa. Usibye ko vuba aha azabiryozwa n'inzego zibishinzwe.

Hari abantu benshi tudashobora kwihanganira. Abantu batuka ku mugaragaro umukuru w'igihugu ushyigikiwe na benshi. Ku byerekeye inama twakoze twasanze ibintu biteye bitya.:

1. Agatsiko ka FPR, Twagiramungu, Agatha na Kavaruganda kateguye umugambi wo kuzakora irahira ubwo muzaba muri mu mihango y'ishyingurwa ry'umukambwe Félix Houphouet Boigny wa Côte d'Ivoire. Icyo gihe, muzamara gufata indege mwerekeza iyo, Radiyo Rwanda itangire gusakuza ngo murahunze. Maze abaturage tubashyigikiye dute umutwe. Ka gatsiko ka ya mashyaka MDR-PL-PSD na PDC gaterane kemeza ko amahanga yabagarura ku ngufu maze ibyitwaga urugendo bihindurwemo gutoroka. Hazahita hemezwa umugambi wo kurahizwa k'abategetsi babogamiye ku Nkotanyi maze imihango ibere munzu icumbitsemo ingabo za ONU. ubwo coup d'etat ibe

irabaye. Intambara y'ababashyigikiye itangire. Dutangire turwane n'abo batwibye ubutegetsi maze hameneke amaraso menshi. Uwo mugambi kandi inkotanyi ziwushyigikiwemo n'imwe muri ambasade y'amahanga ikorera i Kigali ariko tudashatse kuvuga izina muri uru rwandiko.

Icyo tubasaba.

1. Kwihangana ntimujye muri iriya mihango le 7/02/1994. Bityo mukomeze mudufashe guhangana na kariya gatsiko kabatinya.

2. Imibonano mwari kuzagirana na Perezida w'u Bufaransa mushobora no kuyikora mubinyujije mu zindi nzira za politiki cyangwa se mukohereza umwe mu bajyanama banyu mwemera, ataboneka hakagenda Enoch RUHIGIRA.

3. gutegura indi disikuru mwazasoma ku mpera z'uku kwezi maze mukongera kugaragariza amahanga cyane cyane abadufashije muri aya masezerano y'Arusha uko ikibazo giteye n'abanga ko ubutegetsi bw'inzibacyuho bujyaho. Bityo amahanga akomeze asobanukirwe neza ubugambanyi bwa FPR na Twagiramungu bashaka kugeraho. Nibijya biba ngombwa twebwe abaharanira ubusugire bwa Repubulika tuzajya twerekana ingufu zacu ariko tubikore mu buryo bwemewe n'amategeko. Bityo amahanga arebe uko rubanda itekereza ku bibazo by'igihugu cyacu.

Uru rwandiko turubagejejeho tugira ngo mwongere mubitekerezeho. Hato kariya gatsiko katazitwaza ko karahiye mudahari n'amaraso yari kuzameneka abe atakimenetse.

Ngibyo ibyavuye mu nama y'abanyamakuru ba Kangura yateranye yiga aho politiki y'u Rwanda igeze.

Uhagarariye Kangura
NGEZE HASSAN

Bimenyeshejwe :
- Abanyarwanda bose

AGATHA :" ICYANA URARIZWA N'IKI....?"



Bagenzi bacu bo kuri RTLM nibo bakunze kuvuga ngo guverinoma ya Madamu Uwilingiyimana Agatha iheze mu «cyuho».
Iyo guverinoma, ijya gushyirwaho yagombaga kumara amezi abiri n'icyumweru. Ni ukuvuga iminsi mirongo itatu n'irindwi. Uburyo iyo guverinoma yagiyeho ni nako irangije igihe cyayo. Yatangiye mu «cyuho» none igihezemo.
Baca umugani mu Kinyarwanda ngo urucira mu kaso rugatwara nyoko. Guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye imaze gucyura igihe, habaye amahane ashingiye ku nyungu z'abantu bashakaga gukomeza kwirira. Nsengiyaremye wari umaze umwaka urenga yerekana ko ntacyo yishoboreye, iyo aba umugabo aba yaremeye akegura, akagenda atanduranyije. Nyamara ntiyabikozwa. Yashakaga kwiyongerera manda ku ngufu. Aka wa mugani ngo harya uwariye.
Ibyago yaje kugira ni uko amashyaka yari muri Guverinoma ayobora yahakanye ko atakomeza gukorana n'umuntu udashoboye, utagirwa inama. Basaba ishyaka MDR ryagenewe umwanya wa minisitiri w'intebe n'amasezerano y'Arusha gutanga undi mukandida. Aha rero niho havutse ibibazo na nubu bikimunga igihugu.
Nsengiyaremye ati : «ni jye jyewe jyenyine». Amashyaka ari muri guverinoma nayo ati : «ayo ni amagambo, si wowe kamara». Nsengiyaremye ati «bitabaye uko mbishaka MDR ntijya muri guverinoma».
Twagiramungu aba yabibonye ati : «arararararaaaa... ntibishoboka, si wowe shyaka. Abanyagitarama ntibaremewe gutegeka. N'abanyacyangugu bibagereho». Yitwaje umwanya yari afite wo kuba Perezida wa MDR, Twagiramungu akina ibyo yise «politiki yo hejuru». Yabonaga ko inzibacyuho y'amezi 2 n'icyumweru ari igihe gito cyane, abwira «icyana» cye kwisuma. We yizigamira manda y'imyaka ibiri ishobora kugera no ku myaka itanu cyangwa irenga. Nyuma y'iyo ntambara yose, icyihishe inyuma kirazwi. Buri wese ni ugukurura y'ishyira, yegereza abe, akarere ke, inyungu z'igihugu zikaza nyuma.
Ibyabaye kuri Nsengiyaremye nibyo byabaye kuri Agatha, bahimbye «icyana cya Twagiramungu». Nk'iya Nsengiyaremye, manda y'Agatha yaranzwe no kutagira icyo ikora mu nshingano yari yihaye. Amezi abiri arenga, Agatha yaranzwe no gutuka umukuru w'igihugu 'ku musuzugura... nkaho Perezidansi ya Repubulika ari urwego rwa Minisiteri y'intebe. Bityo Perezida wa Repubulika nawe akaba umukozi wa Minisitiri w'intebe.
Uretse n'ibyo, n'ubusanzwe mu Kinyarwanda, umubyeyi (umutegarugori) washize isoni aba ari inshinzi cyangwa se inkunguzi.
Mugenzi wacu Hangimana François Xavier wo mu kinyamakuru «Ijambo» niwe wigeze kwandika ati : «Agatha, urukozasoni mu babyeyi»

Barasakuza ngo Hangimana noneho yasaze. Umusazi arasara akagwa ku ijambo. Guverinoma y'Agatha yagombye kuba yaravuyeho tariki ya 5/01/1994 ikomeje kuzambya igihugu. Nta kazi kagikorwa, abakozi birirwa «bashyushya» intebe mu biro, abategetsi birirwa banyereza umutungo w'igihugu nta nkomyi ngo ni inzibacyuho. Bikomeje gutya, aka kaduruvayo kasiga igihugu mu rwobo kitazivanamo.

Niba inzego z'ubutegetsi bw'inzibacyuho yaguye zitagiyeho vuba, bizaba ngombwa ko inzego z'imirimo ya Leta zihagarara kubera kubura amafaranga.

Ubu rero nibigera ku itariki ya 1/4/1994 nta byemezo bifashwe ngo u Rwanda rube rwarangije kugirana amasezerano na Banki y'isi n'Ikigega mpuzamahanga cy'imari, ubwo ni ugutegereza ukwezi k'Ukwakira 1994, kugira ngo imishyikirano isubukurwe.

Ingengo y'imari y'umwaka 1994 izagira igihombo kingana na miliyari 52 z'amafaranga y'u Rwanda. Ku wa 15/1/1994 hari hateganijwe ko impuguke za Banki y'isi n'iz'Ikigega mpuzamahanga cy'imari ziza kurebera hamwe na Guverinoma y'u Rwanda uko bashaka ayo mafaranga. Izo mpuguke ntabwo zaje, kuko nta Guverinoma yari iriho. Ku wa 15/2/1994 hari hateganijwe ko hazaba inama yahuza abari kuzaba baremeye gutanga imfashanyo, noneho buri wese akavuga ayo atanze uko angana. Iyo nama ntabwo izashobora kuba, kuko imirimo iyibanziriza izaba itarabaye. Niba rero Guverinoma itagiyeho vuba bizabazwe ba gitimujisho.

Ako kaga ntituzakavanwamo n'ibitutsi n'amatangazo yuzuye ubushizi bw'isoni bwa Agatha. Abakora ibi byose bamenye ko atari Habyarimana bahima, barahima abanyarwanda, barumuna na bakuru babo, ababyeyi babo, n'urubyaro rwabo. Inyenzi zigaramiye...

KANGURA.

ABATEGUYE BAKANASINYA AMASEZERANO YA ARUSHA NIBO BAYICA.

Abapadiri nibo bakunze kuvuga ngo "l'habit ne fait pas le moine". Ari ko kuvuga ko hari abitera uruhu rw'intama kandi ari ibirura ! Politiki y'amashyaka menshi imaze kwemerwa mu Rwanda, abanyapolitiki bazanye amavamuhira. Bizeza abanyarwanda ibitangaza, babemerera n'ibidashoboka. Barihandagaje ngo bafite umuti w'intambara. Natwe tuti "utugereho". Umuti bavugaga ngo kwari ugushaka inkotanyi mu Mutara, i Byumba mu Ruhengeri, mu Birunga n'ahandi iyo za Buruseri, aho ziri hose "bakazumvisha" ko zigomba gushyira mu gaciro zigashyira intwaro hasi zikemera imishyikirano. Abari babishishikayemo ni TWAGIRAMUNGU bise RUKOKOMA wa MDR, abayobozi ba PSD, na MUGENZI Yusitini wa PL ataribohora.

Barikoze bagiye i Buruseli ngo kudushakira amahoro, icyagaragaye ni uko iyo mibonano ntacyo yahinduye ku ntambara. Imirwano yarakomeje ku rugamba, inzirakarengane zikomeza kwicwa urubozo. Inkotanyi zikomeza iterabwoba ryazo hirya no hino mu gihugu nta nkomyi. Kandi ni mu gihe. Izo "ntumwa za rubanda" i Buruseli, icyari cyazizinduye si ugushakira abanyarwanda amahoro. Zari zigiye kwishakira icyazibeshaho. Ibyakurikiyeho murabizi. Abari bagiye gushakira abanyarwanda amahoro nibo babagambaniye. Nibo batanze Byumba na Ruhengeri ngo zifatwe. Kandi koko zarafashwe. Nabo amakotanyi yabo bayakubita umufuka bagaruka i Kigali "bemye".

Bakozwe n'isoni batangira gukwiza impuha ngo HABYARIMANA na MRND ye ndetse na CDR nibo banzi b'amahoro. Ukaba wagira ngo MRND na CDR nizo zigabije Byumba na Ruhengeri. Umunsi NSENGIYAREMYE Dismas arahira, mu byihutirwaga muri gahunda ya Guverinoma ye kwari uguhagarika intambara. Bityo ngo akaba atsinze HABYARIMANA na MRND ye igitego. HABYARIMANA nawe ntacyo wamubeshya. Mu ijambo yavuze uwo munsi, yabaye nk'ucyurira NSENGIYAREMYE ko uguhiga ubutwari mutabarana. Kandi ko byari byo. Intambara ntiyari guhagarikwa n'ururimi gusa. Ahubwo yavuye ku mupaka ibera imbere mu gihugu. Iterabwoba ryari rimaze gucogora rikaza umurego.

NSENGIYAREMYE yohereza intumwa ye NGURINZIRA Arusha kumvikana n'Inkotanyi. Urebye nta mishyikirano yabaye kuko NGURINZIRA yagiye atoherejwe na Guverinoma y'u Rwanda. Yari intumwa ya shebuja NSENGIYAREMYE. Icyo yakoze ni ukujya kumva icyo inkotanyi zimutegeka, hanyuma akavuga ko abyemeye. Byaba bibangamiye inyungu za rubanda, bitazibangamiye, ibyo ntibyamurebaga. Nawe zimurebera amakotanyi, aragaruka n'icyocyere cyinshi ngo avuye gushyira umukono ku masezerano y'amahoro.

HABYARIMANA yarabirebye ati: "amasezerano y'amahoro si ibipapuro gusa". Bamwe bamwumva nabi ngo aradindiza imishyikirano. Ariko ni mu gihe. Aka wa mugani ngo bavuga ibigoramye imihoro ikarakara. Bakomeje gusakuza kugeza n'aho bemeje ko umukuru w'igihugu adashaka gushyira umukono kuri ayo masezerano. N'ubwo bwose buri wese, uhereye ku bateguye ayo masezerano, yabonaga ko afifitse, byabaye ngombwa ko HABYARIMANA ajya Arusha gusinya ibyo nawe ubwe atemera. Ibyo aribyo byose yeretse amahanga ko atari we waba intambamyi y'amahoro mu Rwanda. Bazashakire ahandi !

Bityo twizeraga ko noneho intambara ihagaze kuko inkotanyi zari zibonye ibyo zifuzaga. Abanyamashyaka bacu nabo bagatuza kuko bari bamaze kugabana imyanya batanakwiriye. Igitangaje rero ni uko abo bagiye kugambana Arusha, bakigabagabanya ubutegetsi uko bashatse aribo ba mbere batubahiriza ibyo basinyiye. Ntibanagira n'isoni. Baragiye bahamagaza amahanga ngo aze abahagarikire bigabanye ubutegetsi bibye abaturage. Amahanga araje. Itariki bari kuriraho iyo "Bangaheza" ni tariki 5/1/1994.

Perezida HABYARIMANA na none ntiyabatenguha. Araza arangiza umuhango we wo kurahira kugira ngo na none yereke amahanga ko atazaba na rimwe imbogamizi y'amahoro. Ategereza ko abadepite baza kurahira araheba. Ategereza ko Rukokoma wibye umwanya ishyaka rya MDR yazana Guverinoma ye ngo irahire amaso ahera mu kirere. Naho ntakamenye ko akishe ya nka kakiyirimo. Abanyapolitiki bacu bongeye kugaragaza ko icyo bimirije imbere ari inda

zabo, badashishikajwe na rubanda. Kandi ariyo bitwa ko baharanira, ari nayo bakesha iyo myanya bafite.

Barwaniye imyanya bibagirwa ko bagomba gukorera igihugu none ba-gihejeje mu gihirahiro. Nibarize abo banyapolitiki n'inkotanyi. Ko ari mwe mwiteguriye ayo masezerano, mukayishyiriraho umukono, habuze iki ngo muyubahirize ? Abanyapolitiki bacu basa na ba bajura bamara kwiba bajya kugabana bagasubiranamo ku-geza aho bafatiwe. Ibyo aribyo byose, ibyo bakwikora byose, bamenye ko amakuba baroshyemo iki gihugu ba-zayaryozwa !

KANGURA

PALIPEHUTU SI KARATASI, SI KOSSAN

Maze iminsi numva kuri RTLM ba-vuga ko abahutu b'i Burundi bariko bacanamwo mu buhungiro. Nje rero ndibaza nti "birakenewe ko bacana-mwo bari mu kaga ? Mu bisanzwe tuzi ko ingorane n'amarushwa abantu basangangira arivyo bivunga bikaba-zanira ubumwe kurusha vyose. Ure-tse ko mu Kirundi baca umugani ngo abasangiye ubusa bitana ibisambo" Ubu bariko bacanamwo, bapfa imigambwe, na none bikagirwa n'abiyita ko bize. Bize iki mu gihe batereka abanyagihugu batobato ico babungukiye n'ico babarusha kivuye mu bumenyi bwabo ? Ndazi neza ko abanyagihugu bo bakeneye icorengera umutekano wabo. Kugeza ubu abanyagihugu nyarucari nibo nyene berekanye muri izi ngorane u Burundi n'abahutu barimwo, ko bazi kandi bamaze gutahura ico bakora. Bo baragize ubumwe, bararwanya umwansi, bararwanira umutekano wabo n'uw'abategetsi banka no guta igihugu ngo bagihebere abatutsi. Umututsi ariko abica ntaraba imiga-mbwe barimwo araba ubwoko gusa. Ivyo rero bica vyereka abahutu n'amakungu ko abahutu b'i Burundi bakeneye "libération". Bategerezwa rero kumenya no gukomeza kurwani-ra kwikura mu buja.

Nkubu ndibaza nti "bishoboka gute ko abahutu baba bariko baragandagu-rwa ariko abarongoye imigambwe irimwo abo banyagupfa ntibashobora guhura na rimwe ngo bavugane inge-ndo imwe bakwiye gufata kugeneza y'abayobozi babo. Sinumva rero ukuntu amakungu ya cane cane igi-hugu duhana imbibe vyodufasha turi-ko turyana, tutigeze tunaja hamwe ngo tugire ico tubasavye. Sinzi rero ko tuzobasaba kudufasha gukomeza amacakubiri canke gukomeza ubu-mwe.

Uragenda ugahura n'umuhutu ariko yishima ngo yarize ku karimi gusa. None uyo yokorera gute abo asuzugura ? Wigira imbere ugahura n'uwundi umutwe washushe, imitsi yadariye ariko yidogera canke ahiga mwene wabo aho guhiga umwansi. KARATASI yitwa ko arongoye Palipe-hutu, abahutu baja mu kaga we aki-gumira i Bulaya muri Danemark. Mbe Afrika canke ibihugu bituranye n'u Bu-rundi ari navyo yari akwiye gukome-zwamo ubucuti n'ugufashanya akana-sura n'abahutu bahahungiye bari mu kaga, arabizira canke biramunukira. Ni umukuru ka buke atazi abiwe, ata-bona n'ingorane barimwo ? Dushaka indongozi ibashije nka Gahutu Rémy yemeye akava i Bulaya akaza kubana n'abo yipfuje gukura mu buja gushika ahasize ubuzima.

Umuvyeyi nyakuri arondera ikimu-huza kinakomeza ubumwe n'uruku-ndo n'abana biwe. Ntitwumva rero igi-tuma atarasigura icatumye haza amacakubire mu mugambwe Gahutu Rémy yamuraze urimwo ubumwe. Mu gihe abandi bama bihatira kurondera ikibahuza ngo biyunge, abahutu bo bakomeza ikibatanya. KARATASI na KABURA Kossan ni kuki batarondera urwego bahuriramwo n'ababahuza kugira ngo bashobore gukora ku neza y'igihugu ? Baca umugani ngo mu bumwe umuhoro urumwa. NTANYU-NGU Festus niwe yashize umuga-mbwe RPB yize ivy'igisoda co kimwe na Lieutenant Vénérand. None bazo-bwira iki abahutu b'i Burundi mu gihe batashoboye kugira umutwe w'ingabo wo gukura abahutu mu buja ?

Ku bwanje abarongoye Palipehutu, Frodebu n'imigambwe P.P., RPB na PL yayifashije mw'ihiganwa na Uprona na MPD bari bakwiye guhura bagatora inzira imwe bereka abahutu, bakareka kubajuragiza, bagakorera ineza yabo, bakabakura mu kaga ba-rimwo. Ivyo kuvuga ngo inziraguhe-muka za Frodebu ntizirakwigwa bikwiye kuhava. Ivyo kwibaza ngo Palipehutu yemewe Frodebu ntiyasu-bira kuvugwa bakwiye kubyikuramwo. Urugamba rwa Palipehutu nibaza ko ari urwo kurwanira abahutu atari urwo kubakandamiza. Mbe ntibiteye isoni kubona Frodebu ishigikira ubutegetsi kw'izina ry'abahutu igaca yihakana benewabo ibaziza izina hutu ? Mu gi-he bavuga ngo inziraguhemuka ntizi-rakwigwa bigiza hirya abari mu yindi migambwe y'abahutu, abaprorona bo baronka akazi. None impinduke yavyo turayibonye !

Abarongoye iyo migambwe bose bakwiye guhura bakavugana bakagira ico basavye amakungu n'ibihugu du-hanye imbibe na cane cane ibirimwo "race bantoue" kugira bidufashe. Ba-kareka gukora nk'ubusimbira hamwe. Niba abatutsi barwanira kuganza no kwigarurira aka karere ni kuki abahutu tutobigira ngo natwe tukagiremwo umwidegemvyo. Uretse ko abahutu nk'uko baduciyeko umugani twama tubogora twashashe tutazi kwibanga umwansi.

Inzira izoshikana u Burundi n'aba-hutu mu mahoro ni imwe gusa. Ni irya GAHUTU Rémy yagiye aduciriye aka-turaga. Ni naco gituma igihe cose tuzoba tukirengagiza canke tuyisuzu-gura ataco tuzoshikaho kandi bizo-kwama bitugirira inkurikizi mbi. Iyo nzira ni iyi. Gukunda igihugu n'uguko-rera ineza ya bene co atazindi nyu-ngu. We yavuga ati "Ninagira inama ngashika i Burundi si ngombwa ko ari nje ntegerezwa gutegeka. Hazoba amatora. Banyizigiye ntware, bata-nyizigiye ngume aho ariko nezerwe n'uko umuhutu azoba yavuye mu bu-ja". Yarasubije ati kugira abahutu batsinze bikureko umwansi bategere-zwa kugira ibintu 5:

- conscience : bimenye kuko inti-menya, bamenye kandi bemere ko bashoboye gutwara no kurwanira igi-hugu cabo na bene wabo, bikuremwo "complexe d'infériorité" bashizwemo n'umututsi.

- ubumwe : bareke gusuzugurana no gupfa intara, amashule, ubutunzi n'ibindi bitaja ntibize nk'imigambwe canke ibindi.

- umuhuza : yavuze ati: "umuhuza wacu ni Palipehutu niyo iturongoye mu vyiyumviro vyo kwikura mu buja.Uwutazoyijamwo amenye ko azoba abigize nkana ariko ntazovuge ngo ntayizi.

None Palipehutu ni iki ? Si iryo zi-na, si ikirere, si Karatasi, si Kabura Kossan canke ikindi cose. Ni ishaka ry'umuhutu wese ata numwe uvuyemwo ryo kwikura mu buja by'u-mututsi. Umuhutu wese amaze kubo-na no kwemera ko ari mu buja, "initiative" yose azofata mu mvugo, mu ngiro no mu ngendo "dans le sens" y'ukwikura mu buja, niyamenya

kwiyubaha no kubahiriza umuhutu mwene wabo.

- **indongozi** : atari izarizo zose. Ni izemera kwigura igihugu na bene wabo kandi zidakorera amaronko.

- **umuheto** : Martin Luther King yigisha "la non violence yavuze ati: "Nous avons malheureusement appris que la liberté n'est jamais accordées de bon gré par l'oppresseur, elle doit être exigée par l'opprimé".

GAHUTU bamubajije ko yashobora kwumvikana n'abatutsi yishuye ati "hatambana abangana kandi amaboko ataresha ntaramukanya. Ati rero umututsi aguma yicura ko muzomusubiriza mu ndumane mukamwihora ku bibi yabakoreye.

Mu ncamake rero Palipehutu ndayigereranya na **"mouvement sioniste"**. Aho abayahudi bahakana gusesa amaraso barwanira igihugu kitari icabo, bakagira ishaka ryo gushika i Sioni baciye bagira "politique" bise "sionisme" ariyo twe twita "**libération du peuple hutu**". Umuyahudi wese yaba uwuri muri "**diaspora**" baba abari muri "likoud" canke muri "**Parti travailliste**" ni aba "**agents**" ba "**sionisme**" kuko bagendera "idéologie" yayo. Umuhutu wese rero ategerezwa kugendera "idéologie" ya **Palipehutu**. Gahutu yavuze ati: "iyo tubigira kare vyari kworoha ariko ubu bizosaba gusesa amaraso menshi. Abarundi nabo barayamaze bati "akagumye bagumako kandi ibigora bigora abagabo".

Jean NTIKARAHERA

BURUNDI : ICO ABAHUTU B'I BURUNDI BASAVYE PEREZIDA NTARYAMIRA.

1. Yiteko umutekano wiwe n'uw'abahutu, ntasubire kurangara n'ukwanka guhanurwa nka NDADAYE. Ntaco guhisha kirimwo: atore abantu yizigiye, abarungike hanze bige ivya "protocole", "surêté" na "sécurité" bazoze bamukingira.

2. Ahindure ibwirizwashingiro nkuko biri mu ngingo 46 za FRODEBU, ace yemera imigambwe yose ikorera ku mugaragaro.

3. Atange itegeko abasoda basubire mu makambi yabo bave ku makomine no kuri za province. Gutyo bizatuma abanyagihugu bizera ko umutekano ugiye kugaruka. Nibanka azoca abona kare ko bamusuzugura duce tubona ka gatsiko k'inkoramaraso. Abatutsi bahungiye ku makomine no mu makambi y'igisoda bazobanze basubire mu mihano iwabo. Bizotuma abahutu bari mu myonga no mu masha basubira mihano nabo. Atari naho kozoba ari ikimenyetso c'uko abatutsi bagitegura ubundi bwicanyi.

4. Bategura inama mpuzamahanga yo kwiga ikibazo címpunzi z'abarundi kugira gitorerwe umuti burundu. Ntitwifuza kwama duhunga duhunguka dusubira guhunga. Turibaza ko n'ibihugu biduha indaro bitanezerwa kandi ataco vyunguka iyo vyama biriko vyakira impunzi z'abarundi. Bizahava binaduhaga. Turibaza ko vyatuma n'amakungu ashobora kwinjira mu kibazo c'i Burundi. Iyo nama yojamwo: ONU, OUA, HCR, ibihugu vyama biha indaro impunzi z'abarundi n'intumwa z'izo mpunzi. Imfashanyo amakungu yama atanga yo gufasha kwubaka amahema, kuzana imiti n'ivyo kurya mu makambi yovamwo amahera yo gufasha gushiraho "armée nationale" mu Burundi.

Abashinwa nibo bavuga ngo "umuntu womwigisha kuroba ifi aho ko wama uyimuha". Prince Louis RWAGASORE akebura abatutsi bene wabo yavuga ati: "... Nous sommes des hommes calmes et réfléchies... " ... "Vous nous jugerez à nos actes et votre satisfaction sera notre fierté..."

Mu kuvugira naho abatutsi b'abanyarwanda bahungiye i Burundi yavuze ati: "Umurundi wese uzofata nabi canke akirukana umwe mu banyamanga bari muri iki gihugu, azoba ari umwansi w'u Burundi".

Turibaza ko atavuga abanyamahanga b'ababirigi twari twiganzuye ahubwo yavugira ubutegetsi bwa cami bwari bwahungiye i Burundi. Mu myuma muribuka neza ko yagiye mu mpisho i Dar-Es-Salaam kubonana n'umwami Kigeli kugira ngo bavugane uko u Burundi uwo muganwa yari agiye kurongora bwari gufasha kugarura ingoma ya cami mu Rwanda. Abahutu rero bama barira batazi uwapfuye aka kumwe benshi babigira bumvise Thomas Sankara yapfuye.

TWINEGURE, TWIKEBUKE

NDADAYE yabaye agitowe, atarimikwa ati: "Palipehutu ntikenewe ko umuhutu yashikiye ubutegetsi. Ngo mbe ubu izagukura mu buja nde ? N'inzira BUYOYA yari yatangiye yo kumvikana na Palipehutu arungika abepiskopi BUDUDIRA Bernard na NDORICIMPA Alfred, NDADAYE yaciye ayirengagiza. Yibagira n'ivyo yavugira muri "meeting" ikomeye yabereye ku kibuga co kuri COTEBU. Ubu turibaza ko abahutu bose b'i Burundi bamaze kubona ko bihenze, bagikeneye kuva mu buja. FRODEBU yasamaje abahutu b'i Burundi ngo Leta mprona kari akarimi, ngo susuruka muhagarare bwuma. Ngo Leta mprona bogozwa. Wobogozwa uwufise umuheto uri imbokoboko ? Ahubwo Leta mforodebu kabaye akarimi. Birababaje kandi biteye isoni kugira NDADAYE yararangaye kugeza aho yibagira icatumye ahunga mu 1972, akibaza ko umututsi yabaye umumalayika. Abandi kubera ukurengwa bararangaye gushika aho batemera ko "Coup d'Etat" ishoboka ngo ni muri demukarasi. Ngo abazungu barabibona ntibovyemera ariko bakibagira ko imyenge y'inzu imenywa na nyeneyo. Umuzungu umuhenze ngo bigenda nezza nawe azovuga ko ari vyiza. Uzoba uhishije ibibazo nawe ntaco azogufasha. Turifuza ko abahutu b'i Burundi batosubira gukora amakosa nk'ayo. Ntibazosubire gukora "des erreurs d'appréciation" canke "erreurs" za mauvaise conception".

Jean NTIKARAHERA



CYPRIEN NTARYAMIRA PEREZIDA MUSHYA W' U BURUNDI

JEAN BOSCO BARAYAGWIZA
INYENZI Z'ABABILIGI ZARI ZIMWIVUGANYE.

Ngo abanzi bose barasa. Mu ijoro ryo kuwa 30 rishyira uwa 31 Mutarama 1994 mu gihe cya saa mbiri n'igice za nimugoroba, abasirikari 8 bo mu ngabo za ONU ziba mu Rwanda, bateye kwa BARAYAGWIZA ibirahuri by'inzu baramenagura, akizwa na nyagasani.

Muti byagenze bite ?

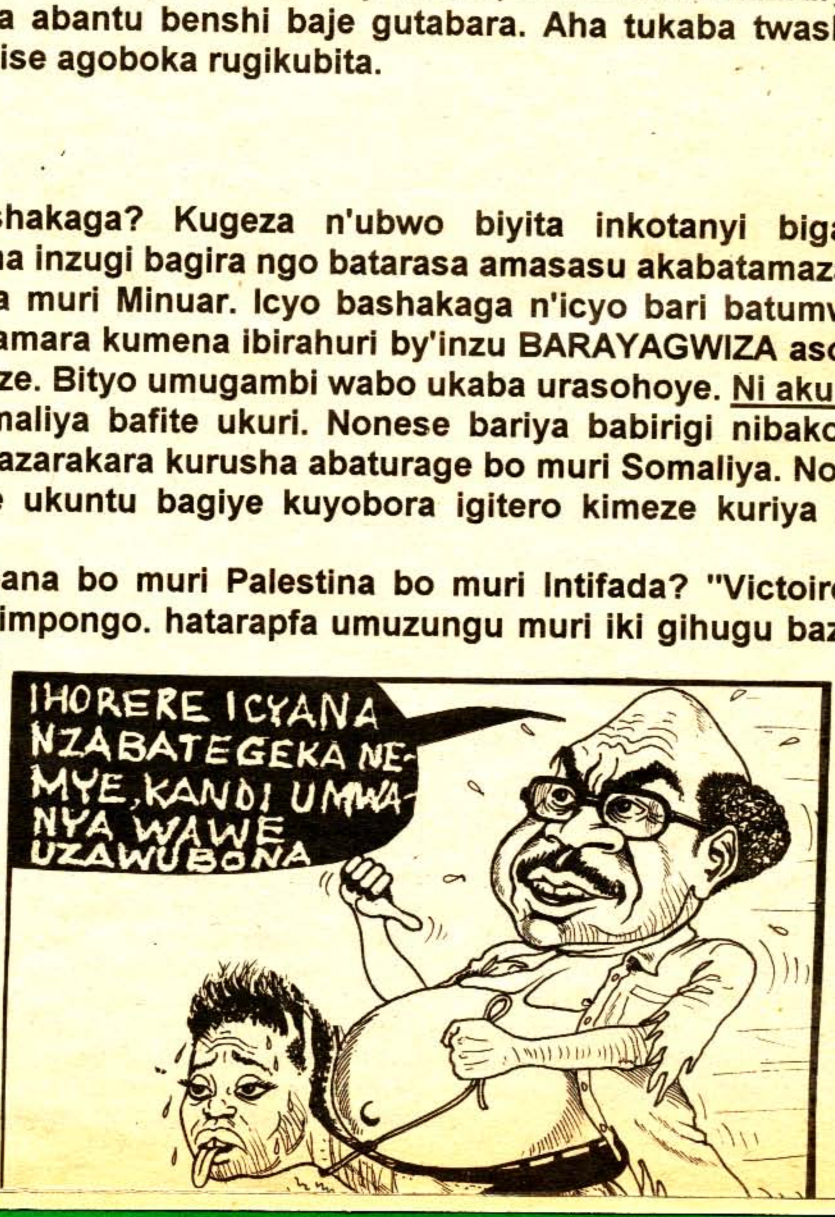
Nkuko abazamu babibonye babyemeza, ngo mu gitondo haje umwana utuye i Gikondo hafi y'aho ingabo za Minuar zirirwa azana abazungu babiri maze ageze ku irembo ryo kwa Barayagwiza abatungira agatoki inzu. Ubwo bahise bataha. Ku mugoroba, kuri ariya masaha ya saa mbiri n'igice nibwo abazungu bafashe inzira no kwa Barayagwiza, bahageze basanga urugi rwu muryango rurafunze. Nibwo batangiye kumena ibirahuri by'inzu bakoresheje amabuye.

Nibwo Barayagwiza n'abana be bari bicaye muri salon bahise bahungira mu kindi cyumba. Abazamu baratabara. Abazungu bati : "turi Inkotanyi". Ngo nimutwereke ijipe ivuye hano. Babonye abazamu babaye benshi nibwo bahisemo guhita biruka baracika. BARAYAGWIZA we yahise afata telefoni atelefona kuri Radio RTLM. Nibwo bihise bitangazwa muri ako kanya. Rubanda nyamwinshi ibyumvise, ihita itabara ku buryo mu minota 30 hari hamaze kugera abantu benshi baje gutabara. Aha tukaba twashimira General NDINDIRIYIMANA wahise agoboka rugikubita.

Tubyibazeho.

Niki abo bazungu bashakaga? Kugeza n'ubwo biyita inkotanyi bigatuma bakoresha amabuye mu kumena inzugi bagira ngo batarasa amasasu akabatamaza?
Abo basirikari b'ababirigi baba muri Minuar. Icyo bashakaga n'icyo bari batumwe na baramu babo. Bari bazi ko nibamara kumena ibirahuri by'inzu BARAYAGWIZA asohoka maze bagahita bamurasira hanze. Bityo umugambi wabo ukaba urasohoye. Ni akumiro!
Burya abaturage bo muri Somaliya bafite ukuri. Nonese bariya babirigi nibakomeza kubogama kuriya, rahira ko tutazarakara kurusha abaturage bo muri Somaliya. None se ababategeka basobanura bate ukuntu bagiye kuyobora igitero kimeze kuriya kandi bagakoresha amabuye?
Ese tuvuge ko biganaga ba bana bo muri Palestina bo muri Intifada? "Victoire des pierres?". Agapfa kaburiwe ni impongo. hatarapfa umuzungu muri iki gihugu bazagira ngo bene Sebahinzi ntitubona !

NGEZE Hassan.

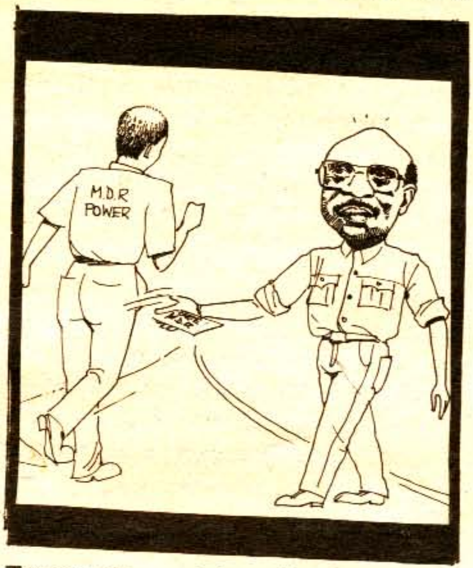


UKO KANGURA YAGIYE IBONA **TWAGIRAMUNGU FAUSTIN** KUVA IGITANGIRA KUMWANDIKA.

Imyaka ibaye itatu dutangiye gushyira ahagaragara imigambi mibisha ya TWAGIRAMUNGU. Hasigaye igihe gito ngo amashyaka yemerwe muri Kangura no16 twatangiye umurimo ukomeye wo gukurikirana imigambi, ibikorwa n'ibitekerezo by'abari batangiye gusaba gushinga amashyaka. Hari abantu benshi bagiye birengagiza ubushishozi twagiye tugira. Bagiye babiterwa n'uko ngo udashyigikiye inkotanyi wese ni igikoresho cya Perezida HABYARIMANA. Abakwirakwije icyo gitekerezo bari bafite ku isonga TWAGIRAMUNGU Faustin. None aho atahuriwe bimaze kugaragara ko muri iki gihugu politiki yo kutabogama ku Nkotanyi cyangwa kuri HABYARIMANA, ishobora gukorwa nta nkomyi.

Muri Mata 1991, KANGURA No 16 ku rupapuro wa 18, yaribajije iti **<u>"Ese koko TWAGIRAMUNGU Faustin warigishije umutungo wa STIR ku buryo bugaragara niwe wifuza kuba umunyapolitiki mu Rwanda rw'amashyaka menshi ?</u>** Muri iyo nyandiko birumvikana, twasobanuye ukuntu yacunze STIR ariko mu mutwe wayo haranditse ngo: "Abaturage, ndavuga abanyarwanda bose, bagomba kugira icyo bamenya kubahwihwisa cyangwa kubihihiswa ku mashyaka atangiye kwigaragaza. Mu gihe tugezemo, igihugu gikeneye abantu bakitangira, bakareba inyungu za benshi (rubanda rugufi) aho guharanira izabo bwite. Nicyo gituma abantu bari mu mashyaka aya n'aya, bakaba bayafitemo uruhare runini, ku buryo ndetse bashobora no kwiyamamariza imyanya ikomeye bagomba kumenywa n'abo bashobora kuzayobora. Abo bantu bagomba kumenyekana mu mibereho yabo ya buri munsi, n'uko bakoreye igihugu. Muri ibyo bintu byombi rubanda izahamenyera niba kanaka wiyamamarije kumuyobora afite amateka meza, agaragaza niba buri gihe ahora afite urukundo rw'igihugu n'umuhate wo kuzamura rubanda rugufi. Na none kandi birashoboka ko muri iyo mibereho ya buri munsi, no muri uko gukorera igihugu, hagaragara ko nyirabyo atazi gucunga neza ibya rubanda, cyangwa ko atigera agaragaza urukundo agirira urwamubyaye.

Ni muri urwo rwego tugiye kureba imikorere ya TWAGIRAMUNGU Faustin wananiwe gucunga neza umutungo wa STIR (Société des Transports Internationaux du Rwanda). Mu byukuri hanze aha amagambo aracicikana ko uwo Faustin warangije kuba umurwanashyaka wa MDR ashobora kuziyamamariza umwanya ukomeye. Turibaza rero niba yabishobora, kuko abamuzi neza bavuga ko ari mu bafite akamiya gatubutse, ariko ibintu by'ubuyobozi bikaba byaramwihishe. Si iyo rero ubwo buyobozi burimo amafaranga y'abandi ! Ayasahura atabitayeho. None se ko igihugu kibakirimo byinshi bigomba gucungwa neza kandi akaba ari iby'abandi (rubanda uvanyemo Faustin), amaherezo aho azaba anogeye benshi mu mpande zose z'igihugu ?"



Muri iyi nyandiko si ngombwa gusubiramo ingorane za STIR ahubwo dukwiye kwibukaho iyo nyandiko yabayeho mbere y'uko amashyaka yemerwa. Nyir'ubwite yagerageje kwosobanura mu bindi binyamakuru ngo turamubeshyera. Muri icyo gihe twavuze ko adashobora rwose kunogera benshi mu mpande zose z'igihugu. Amatora ya MDR yari asigaje imyaka ijya kugera kuri ibiri ngo abe. Mu matora aho kugira ngo bakurikize ibyo Kangura yasesenguye ngo ni bya bikoresho !

TWAGIRAMUNGU abo anogeye ni bo bake cyane. Mu magambo ashobora kubihakana ariko mu mutima we abibona. Ikimenyimenyi ubu ageze ku rwego atabasha gukoresha mitingi muri iki gihugu. Ubu asigaye yitabaza ibiganiro mbwirwaruhame akibonera abanyamakuru nabo babyitabira kubera umurimo wabo. Amafaranga twamukekeragaho tukimwandikira bwa mbere nayo twagiye tumenya inzira yaturutsemo nk'uko turi



bubibone mu nyandiko zagiye zikurikira.

Twavuze ko iby'abandi abisahura atabitayeho. Abayoboke ba MDr bategereje ko amasezerano ya Arusha ashyirwaho umukono kugira ngo babyemere: none se ubu uwo mugabo bita Rukokoma ntiyabasahuye, ntiyabanyaze MDR ?

Muri Kangura no 20 twanditse na none TWAGIRAMUNGU ku buryo burambuye. NTAMWETE J.M.V. wo mu Gatenga-Gikondo yatwandikiye atubwira ko icyo Faustin yafungiwe muri 1930 iminsi igera kuri 7 ari imodoka AUDI ya STIR yari yifunze. Ibyo bikaba bitandukanye n'uko yari yisobanuye muri Rwanda Rushya no 7. Muri icyo kinyamakuru Faustin asobanura ifungwa rye avuga ko bamuhoye kwima Mukungwa FC igikombe cya Championnat. Icyo kiganiro yagiranye na Rwanda Rushya cyaje gutuma no mu ishyaka rye bamucyaha. Biragaragara rero ko agikomeje ingeso yo gutwara iby'abandi, abyita ibye.

Muri Kangura no 21 nibwo twatangiye gushyira ahagaragara ukuntu TWAGIRAMUNGU akorana n'inkotanyi duhereye ku binyamakuru bimwamamaza ari byo "Rwanda Rushya", "Le Tribun du Peuple". HITIMANA Noheri aragira ati: "muri iki gihe cy'amashyaka menshi hari abaharanira imyanya ikomeye mu butegetsi kugira ngo babone uko barya ibya rubanda. Muri uko gushakisha ubutegetsi ku ngufu, Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU yavuze ko azemera gutanga utwo yibye twose ariko agategeka. Kubona yemera gukora nk'agacurama ? Iyo ageze mu barwanashyaka ba MDR arabashuka ngo barakorana, ariko yakwibuka ko MDR nta Kalach-

nikov ifite akayoboka ibyitso by'inkotanyi kugira ngo bimwamamaze mu Nkotanyi. Barwanashyaka nimwitondere Faustin MDR Parmehutu ashaka kuyihindura Parmetutsi". (Kangura no 21 P. 12).

KANGURA No 27 iratangaza ku rupapuro rwa 8 n'urwa 9 ukuntu TWAGIRAMUNGU yometse MDR kuri FPR. Niwe wazanye ijambo Rukokoma muri iryo shyaka. Bagenzi be babanje kumwamagana ngo ntibashaka ibitekerezo by'inkotanyi. Baje kugera aho barabyemera bati "ni hahandi muri Rukokoma hazaba hari abahutu benshi, abatutsi ntibazatuganza, ipfa gusa kuba nyuma y'intambara maze ibyitso byose bikagaragara". Ubufatanye bwa PL na MDR abarwanashyaka nka NSENGIYAREMYE Dismas, SEBATWARE André, NKEZABERA J.M.V., HATEGEKIMANA Jean Baptiste na Nyakwigendera GAPYISI Emmanuel barabirwanyije. TWAGIRAMUNGU yakomeje guhatiriza, uko MDR ikoresheje inama mu rwego rwo hejuru akabugarura, ku buryo tariki ya 10 Kanama 1991 MDR yaje kunywana na PL. Inzira yo kuroha ishyaka rya Sebukwe yakomeje kuyihata ibirenge.

Mu nimero zakurikiyeho hagiye hagaruka kurigisa umutungo, amahugu, igitugu, hiyongeraho n'ubwicanyi. Kuko iyo turebye uko ibihe byari bimeze mu gihe GAPYISI yatabarukaga, dusanga ikiganza cya TWAGIRAMUNGU kizageraho kikagaragara mu bamwishe.

Abayoboke ba MDr rero ntibari bakwiye gucika intege. Izuba ntirirarenga kugira ngo bumve ibyo Kangura ivuga kuri TWAGIRAMUNGU. Kuba ategekesha igitugu ntibizatume badakorera ishyaka uko bikwiye. Imishyikirano ateganya kugirana n'aba "Power" amaze gucakira intebe ihatse andi mayeri menshi. Nimudakaza umutsi nkuko nawe abigenza ishyaka azaryoreka. Uriya mwanya wa Minisitiri w'Intebe yihaye, ishyaka nirise nk'aho riba riwibagiwe, maze abarwanashyaka bakore mu buryo bwo guhigika umugambanyi. Buhoro buhoro nirwo rugendo, kandi Abanyarwanda bashobora guhuriza ibitekerezo hamwe bagakora politiki batiriwe babogama kuri HABYARIMANA cyangwa se ku Nkotanyi.

NYABYENDA Issa.

MADAME JACQUELINE KARIBWAMI ATI : "NSANZWE NZI UBUNYAMASWA BW'IGISODA CYACU".

Potien KARIBWAMI ni umwe mu bo inkoramaraso zahoze demokrasi. Yari Perezida w'inama nshingamateka. Umugore we Jacqueline KARIBWAMI arahishura ukuntu inkozi z'ibibi zamutwaye. Zimu jyana ubutazagaruka. Abana babaza nyina igihe abasoda bazamugarurira, umuvu w'amarira ugatemba. Madame Jacqueline KARIBWAMI ariko afite icyizere cy'uko u Burundi bugifite intwari zizongera kumurema agatima. Zikarema imfubyi n'abandi bapfakazi bose bahemukiwe n'abanzi ba demokarasi. Icyizere afite, Imana izakimushyirire mu bikorwa.

KARIBWAMI AHUMURIZA UMUSHYITSI.

Ku wa gatatu tariki ya 20 Ukwakira 1993 kuri njye wari umunsi nk'iyindi yose. Nta karusho wari ufite. Nta gihuha cya «Coup d'Etat» cyigeze kingeraho amanywa yose. Ubwo natahaga mu ma saa mbiri za nimugoroba mu Ngoro y'uwa 3 Nzeli, nari ntaramenya ko ari ryo joro ryanjye rya nyuma ndi kumwe n'umugabo wanjye nkunda.

Ni saa 5 na 30 z ijoro. Umugabo wanjye atashye mu Ngoro. Aganiriye n'umushyitsi wari mu rugo. Umushyitsi abaza umugabo wanjye niba yaba azi Coup d'Etat yari kuba muri iryo joro. Umugabo wanjye yasubije ko «hashize imbyumweru bibiri bivugwa. Ubu Coup d'Etat ntacyo yageraho kubera ko ubu abaturage bashishikajwe no gu shyigikira ibyo demokarasi yagezeho. Ndakeka ko ubu ngubu abasirikari badashbora kubikora».

Umushyitsi amaze guhumurizwa ahita ajya kuryama. Nanjye ndahaguruka. Umugabo wanjye ansanga mu cyumba turyamamo.

Saa 8 n'igice za mugitondo, ibizazane biratangira. Urusaku rukabije runkangurira hejuru. Njye n'u mugabo wanjye duhungira bwangu mu rwogero. Umugabo wanjye ati: «banza ari ya Coup d'Etat bamaze iminsi bavuga». Hashize iminota itanu ikintu gikubita ku muryango w'aho dutuye, twumva amapikipiki na blindé bihinda, amakamyo arasu ma. Ingoro ihita igotwa n'abasirikari. Ubwoba bwarantitije.

Muri ako kanya, noneho umugabo wanjye aranyerurira ati : «ni byo koko ni «Coup d'Etat bahoze bavuga uyu munsi ariko simbyemere. Nari mfite icyizere». Ntabwo yizeraga ko yabaho. Mu by'ukuri, u bwo yari atashye ntiyigeze abimbwira. Yari yabifashe nk'ibihuha. Abasirikari bari baturinze ntacyo bakoze ngo badutabare. Ahubwo nibo bafunguriye inkoramaraso u muryango. Rwose abo barinzi bacu bari ibyitso.

NATEGEREJE KO ABANA BATAKA...

Saa 8 na 40 za mugitondo, abo bicanyi batangiye kumenagura inzugi zose n'amadirishya. Numvaga u bura bwisimbiza, umutima utera cyane. Ku a navuka nta na rimwe nigeze numva meze ntyo.

Kubera ko nsanzwe nzi ubunyamaswa bw'igisirikari cyacu, nu mvaga twese tugiye kwicisha ibyu ma hamwe n'abana banjye. Nategereza ko n'abo tu akana ari rwo ru pfu bagiye kwicwa noneho intege zigacika.

Inkoramaraso zageze mu byu mba by'abana. Mu gihunga cyinshi, ntegereza ko bataka, bambwira ko bageze mu makuba. Agahinda na none nagatewe n'umuryango wa Ndiho, wari umaze imyaka 21 mu buhungiro, none ukaba uguye muri uwo muriro w'iteka. Nabonaga rwose ko tugomba gusangira urupfu n'uwo muryango.

Bagishakisha aho twihishe, baguye k'umushoferi wacu. Bamuku bita bimwe bibi, bakeka ko ari we Perezida w'inama nshingamateka. Yakijijwe n'irangamuntu bamusabye basanga atari we.

Kugeza icyo gihe abasirikari baturinda ntacyo bigeze bakora. Abicanyi bikomereje umurimo wabo ariko mu isahaha rikabije. Nasabye umugabo wanjye kwambara ko-

neho ubwoba bukabije : mpindura ibyicaro, mva kuri benyuwari njya kuri «lavabo». Umugabo wanjye arahankura ati : «Hagarara bwuma»

IGISIRIKARI CYACU NTIKIGIRA ABASHINGANTAHE.

Saa 8 na 50, basigaje umuryango umwe ngo batugereho, umwe muri abo basirikari arasa mu gisenge. Umushefu we aramucyaha ati «iyo mbwa ni nde irashe ? Mwibagiwe ibyo twasezeranye ? Ntihagire n'umwe usubira kurasa».

Iryo tegeko ryo kubuza kurasa ryongeye kunyemeza ko njye n'abanjye tugiye kwicishwa ibyuma.

Umugabo wanjye yahise avuga ati : «ndahebuye, igisirikari cyacu ntikigira abashingantahe namba. Nta nkomyi. Nta kintu na kimwe gishobora guhagarika aya mabi».

Umugabo wanjye yakekaga ko hari abasirikari bizewe, b'umutima. Mbega ubuhemu !

Saa 9 za mu gitondo. Umuryango wacu bagerageza kuwufungura. Umugabo wanjye arambwira ati : «ndafunguye kuko ntacyo bimaze gutegereza ko bawusatura». Arafungura. Umusoda umeze nk'uwanyoye urumogi arakanga ati : «amaboko hejuru». Turabikora. Arongera ati : «Musohoke ! Mwari mu tegereje iki kugirango mufungure. Mwadutesheje igihe». Barebye niba nta ntwaro dufite. Abasirikari batandatu batunze umugabo wanjye ibyuma. Bamutwaye batyo kurinda barenga aho ntakibabona. Ayo mashusho na n'ubu aracyanshengura umutima. Muri iryo tandukana ribabaje n'umugabo wanjye, wa musoda umeze nk'uwanyoye ibiyobyabwenge arambwira ati : «Madame, sezera umugabo wawe, ntuzapfa usubiye kumubona. Kuva ubu arapfuye». Ubupfakazi bwanjye bwari bumaze gutangira. Umutima urandya. Mera nk'uwo bakubise indembo mu mutwe. Negura amaso kugira ngo nitegereze uwanshinyaguriraga, ahita ancakiza urushyi bwangu. Iyo nkoramaraso ntiyifuzaga ko nayimenya na rimwe.

TWAHUNGIYE MU RUNDI RWOGERO.

Umugabo wanjye amaze ku jyanwa ubutazagarurwa, abasirikari 6 kakomeje umurimo wabo mubisha wo kwica ibikoresho by'itumanaho byose, babijugunya muri «piscine». Muri iyo piscine niho umuhungu wanjye yatoraguye «Télécel», nyuma y'iminsi ibiri.

Mbere y'uko bagenda, abasirikari babiri banjyanye mu cyumba turaramo banyaka amafaranga. Sinabashaga kubona aho nari narambitse agashakoshi karimo amafaranga kuko icyo cyumba cyari cyaterewe hejuru koko.

Saa 9 na 15 inkoramaraso zose zaragiye zinsiga njyewe n'abana babiri, mu nzu zimaze kwangiza. Imiryango yasatuwe, ibirahure byamenwe, telefone zaciwe. Abo basazi na none basahuye mu cyumba turaramo iradiyo, ikweto, amasaha abiri n'amafaranga.

Abana banjye ubwanjye, noneho twahungiye mu rundi rwogero kugera saa 10 z'amanywa yo ku itariki ya 21 Ukwakira. Nari mfite ubwoba cyane ku buryo nta nyota n'inzara nigeze ngira. Abana bariraga ubudatuza bambaza niba abasirikari bari bugarure se : «None abasoda baramugarukana Papa». Bambwiraga ayo magambo, umuzi w'amarira ugatemba. Yari ambabaje koko.

Kuwa gatatu tariki ya 22 Ukwakira, Commandant wa Camp Muha, Major Nibizi Isaïe yaje muri iyo Ngoro y'ikivume. Yifuzaga ko tubonana. Ndamwakira. «Madame, mbega ngaha urafise abakozi». Mu subiza ko ari ntabo. Arakomeza ati: «Uwogukura aha ngaha rero ukajya ahandi». Ansaba kwitegura kwimuka nyuma ya saa sita. Kubona u muntu umvana muri ubwo buroko byatumye niruhutsa gato.

Mu ma saa moya yagarutse ku mbwira impamvu zatumye atubahiriza amasezerano. Ntabwo yari yabonye imodoka yo kunyimura. Mbega umubabaro ! Byabaye ngombwa ko nongera kurara muri icyo kiburagasani ngo ni Ingoro. Cyakora uwo musirikari, n'ubwo atari aje kutwimura, yaje atuzaniye umugati.

Kuwa gatandatu tariki ya 23 Ukwakira ibyago byarahuriranye. Umwana wanjye Lionel ufite imyaka 4 yararwaye, ahinda umuriro mwinshi. Ntumaho Commandant wa Camp Muha ngo anyorohereze kujyana umwana kwa Muganga. Umusirikari w'umushoferi ahagera nyuma ya saa sita, atujyana kwa muganga. Hakozwe isuzumwa noneho batubwira kugaruka bucyeye bwaho, ku cyumweru.

Twongeye gutaha mu ngoro. Ngarutse kureba ibisubizo kwa Muganga, numvaga ngomba ku nyura aho naba nzwi, kugira ngo bibe ikimenyetso ku babyeyi banjye ko nkiriho, no kugira ngo nterefone umudiplomate w'umubirigi wari inshuti y'umuryango mumenyeshe ibyago byanjye maze twigire hamwe ukuntu twava muri iyo nyagwa y'ingoro. Ntibyangoye kubikora. Saa munani, umudiplomate yaje kutwimura. Nashoboraga noneho guhumeka neza. Numvaga ngiye gusara kubera amajoro twari tumaze tudasinzira.

Ubu ngubu mpora numva akaga igihugu cyacu kirimo ku wa aho umugabo wanjye yiciwe, Perezida wa Repubulika n'ibihumbi byinshi by'abanyagihugu. Yego ibintu biteye impungenge. Ariko se dutegereje icyizere ?

Ndakeka ko bidashoboka. U Burundi buracyafite intwari zishobora kurema agatima abapfakazi n'imfubyi ibihumbi n'ibihumbi baziza ijoro ryo ku wa 21 Ukwakira.

Mboneyeho umwanya wo gushimira abantu bose bamfashije muri ibi bihe bibi. Na none kandi ndashimira abarundi babashije guhagurukira rimwe bagahagarika ibikorwa bibi by'abanzi ba demokarasi. Ndasaba abarwanashyaka gukomeza badateba, intego ya demokarasi twasigiwe n'abayizize, abanzi ba demokarasi nabo nibamenye ko ijambo rya nyuma ari irya rubanda. Nta wushobora kongera gukora ibitandukanye n'icyo rubanda ishaka.

NDLR : Iyi nyandiko ivuye mu Kinyamakuru «L'aube de la démocratie» cyandikirwa mu Burundi, No 31. Ikiganiro cyakiriwe na Jérôme Ndiho. Twe twayivanye mu gifaransa tuyishyira mu Kinyarwanda.

Nyabyenda Issa.

MINUAR - FPR ABISHYIZE HAMWE....

Ababirigi bihaye intego ivuga ngo «L'union fait la force». Ari byo ku vuga ngo ubumwe butera ingufu. Abanyarwanda nabo bati «abishyize hamwe ntakibananira».

Ababirigi bajya kwiha iyo ntego si gusa. Iwabo bafite amoko abiri atumvikana. Hari abo bita aba «Wallons» bavuga ururimi rw'igifaransa. Hakaba n'aba «Flamands» bavuga igifulama, ururimi ruri mu muryango umwe n'ikidage cyangwa se igiholandi. Ayo moko uko ari abiri ntiyumvikana. Mbese nk'uko abahutu n'abatutsi bameze muri aka karere dutuyemo. Aho mu Bubirigi buri bwoko bufite umwihariko wabwo. Ntibakurikira inyigisho zimwe mu mashuri, buri bwoko bufite intara bwigengaho, muri Guverinoma ni ukugabana bakaringaniza kugirango umuriro utaka... Mbese icyo bahuriyeho ni igihugu gusa. Iriya ntego rero bihaye ngo «L'union fait la force» ni nk'agakingirizo ngo badafatana mu mihogo. Abo bantu batumvikana ubwabo nibo Umuryango w'abibumbye wohereje mu Rwanda kubahiriza amahoro mu rwego rwa Minuar (Mission des Nations-Unies d'assistance au Rwanda).

Inkuru y uko abasirikari b'ababirigi bazaza mu Rwanda ntiyashimishije na gato rubanda nyamwinshi y'abanyarwanda. Noneho kumva ko ababirigi aribo bashinzwe umutekano mu murwa mukuru ariwo Kigali, byabaye incamugongo. Kandi ni mu gihe ! Abanyarwanda aka kanya ntibibagiwe uruhare ababirigi bagize muri iyi ntambara. Twibukiranye gato, nta nzika kuko ari igihe cyo gusana imitima.

Inkotanyi ziri hafi gutera tariki ya 1/10/1990, ingirwa ba «coopérants militaires» (abafasha mu bya gisirikari) b'ababirigi bashutse abasirikari bakuru b'ingabo z'u Rwanda gutwika amasasu yari ahari ngo arashaje. Hari n'amakuru yemeza ko n'imodoka za gisirikari icyo gihe izashoboraga kugenda ari mbarwa kuko bari barazishyize umunyu muri za moteri. Ibyakurikiyeho birumvikana.

Inkotanyi zarateye, zisanga ingabo z'u Rwanda uretse no gutungurwa, nta bikoresho zari zifite. Nta mbunda zihagije, nta masasu nta modoka zo kujyana abasirikari ku rugamba. Hagati aho u Rwanda rwari rwaratumije amasasu mu Bubirigi, yaranarishywe. Guverinoma y'u Bubirigi yumvise ko inkotanyi zateye yanga gutanga amasasu igihe yari akenewe cyane. Ikindi twakwibutsa ni uko ibiro bikuru by'inkotanyi byakoreraga i Buruseri umurwa mukuru w'u Bubirigi. Abasirikari icyo gihugu cyohereje mu Rwanda icyo gihe iyo urebye usanga bari aba nyirarureshwa dore ko bamaze ukwezi kumwe gusa bagahambira utwabo. Wagirango bakekaga ko inkotanyi zizabasanga i Kigali. Nizere ko babonye ko Imana irebera u Rwanda idahumbya.

Ubucuti bw'ababirigi n'abatutsi ni bwa kera. Abenshi muri bo barongoye abatutsikazi ku buryo kubogama kwabo ntawe gukwiye gutangaza. Ikibazo cy'ababirigi i Kigali bakibajije umukuru w'abasirikari ba Minuar, General R. Dallaire, arya ikintu cyabakuye umutima birirwa bahiga ijoro n'umunsi. Birirwa babaririzwa aho interahamwe ziri nkaho arizo bagome muri iki gihugu. Ariko nta kaburimvano. Kuba ababirigi bahiga interahamwe bazishumurijwe n'inkotanyi dore ko zizitinya cyane. Ntibakamenye ko mu Rwanda buri shyaka rifite urubyiruko rwaryo. MRND ifite interahamwe, MDR ikagira inkuba, PSD ikagira abakomobozi... Sinzi rero impamvu ababirigi babona interahamwe mo abantu badasanzwe kurusha inkuba.

Ababirigi batangiye no kwanduranya ku baturage. Uretse kwirirwa bahiga «ibyana» rimwe na rimwe bakabifata ku ngufu basigaye bacunga amazuru. Umugabo dutanga ni inkuru iherutse guhita kuri RTLM ivuga ukuntu ababirigi bo muri Minuar baherutse kugotera umuntu ku Ntaraga (Ku Kimisagara) bamubaza niba ari umuhutu cyangwa umututsi. Uwo mugabo



indimi. Yasubije ko abo basirikari n'ubwo bwose baturuka mu Bubirigi batagengwa na Guverinoma y'u Bubirigi. Ngo bagengwa n'umuryango w'abibumbye.

Ibyo ntawubyanze. Ibyo ari byo byose kuba bambaye ingofero z'umuryango w'abibumbye ntibibabuza kuba ababirigi. Kuba bari muri Minuar ntibibavanamo ibitekerezo by'ababirigi no kubogamira kuri ba sebukwe b'abatutsi.

Mu gihe gito ababirigi bamaze i Kigali bamaze kwigaragaza. Bafite yaberetse ko abarenze absubiza ko ari umwirabura gusa ! Ni akumiro! Minuar yaje gucunga amazuru cyangwa gufasha abanyarwanda gushyira mu bikorwa amasezerano y'Arusha ? Ni aho kwibaza.

Hari inyandiko iherutse gusohoka muri Kangura igiri iti : «General R. Dallaire n'ingabo ze nibakomeza kubogama bazababage bifashe». None iryo twavuze riratashye. Umukuru w'abasirikari ba Minuar yarangije kwigaragaza igihe yemerera inkotanyi gutembera mu mujyi n'imbu -

nda. Mu gihe iyo Minuar ibonye ingabo y'u Rwanda itemberana imbunda bihutira kuyimwambura. R. Dallaire ngo inkotanyi ntizaje kuba imfungwa muri CND! Namubwira iki ! Nyamara yiyibagiza ko amasezerano y'Arusha ateganya ko inkotanyi ziri muri CND zizajya zisohoka zifite ubutumwa buzwi na Minuar. None ngo si imfungwa. Sibwo zitangiye kugandagura inzirakarengane !

Tuzakomeza turebere kugeza ryari ? Abo zishe mu Ruhengeri n'i Byumba nti bahagije ?

Kangura.

NI NDE UZAKIRA INTAMBARA YO MU KWA GATATU

Abibwiraga ko intambara irangiye ngo kubera amasezerano y'Arusha basubize amerwe mu isaho. Intambara igeze mu ikoni rikomeye. Kandi ifite none ho isura ebyiri. Hari iy'amasasu yari imaze igihe itanze agahenge, hakaba n'iya politiki itari hafi kurangira. Kandi intambara ya politiki niyo ibyara iy'amasasu. Muri Kangura iherutse (no 54) twaburiye abanyarwanda cyane cyane rubanda nyamwinshi igisinziriye ko intambara ishobora kurota muri Kigali mu minsi ya vuba. Abatareba kure babifashe nk'inkuru y'igihuha. Nyamara ibimenyetso birahari kandi biragaragara.

Ishyaka MRND riherutse kunyuza itangazo kuri RTLM ryemeza ko rifite ibimenyetso simusiga ko ziriya nkotanyi 600 ziri muri CND atari zo zonyine ziri muri Kigali. Ngo hari izindi Nkotanyi zigera ku bihumbi 3 zihishe muri Kigali. Ngo zaba zirekereje ko izo muri CND zakoma imbarutso, zikambikana. Ukongeraho n'urubyiruko rwa PSD, abakombozi, n'abandi batutsi bakomeje kwitoreza ku Mulindi.

Icyemeza ko intambara iri hafi kurota muri Kigali ni uko inkotanyi zatangiye gushotorana. Zatangiye kugaba ibitero shuma mu masegiteri yegereye aho zicumbitse muri CND. Mu bitero bibiri inkotanyi zimaze kugaba mu karere ka Remera bimaze guhitana abantu barenga babiri n'inkomere nyinshi. Inkotanyi ziragenda zikagandagura inzirakarengane, zarangiza zikihishira mu ndiri yazo nshya zagabiwe n'amasezerano "y'amahoro" y'Arusha. Igiteye inkeke ni uko ubwo bushotoranyi n'ubwo bwicanyi bikorwa abasirikari mpuzamahanga bari mu cyatwe wa MINUAR barebera. Kandi umva ko inzu ya CND inkotanyi zicumbitsemo ikikijwe n'abasirikari ba MINUAR. Inkotanyi ziva muri CND zigiya kugandagura abantu, MINUAR ihe ? Ariko ntawe byari bikwiye gutangaza. Abasirikari ba MINUAR igihe bo bamaze i Kigali berekanye ko babogamye cyane.

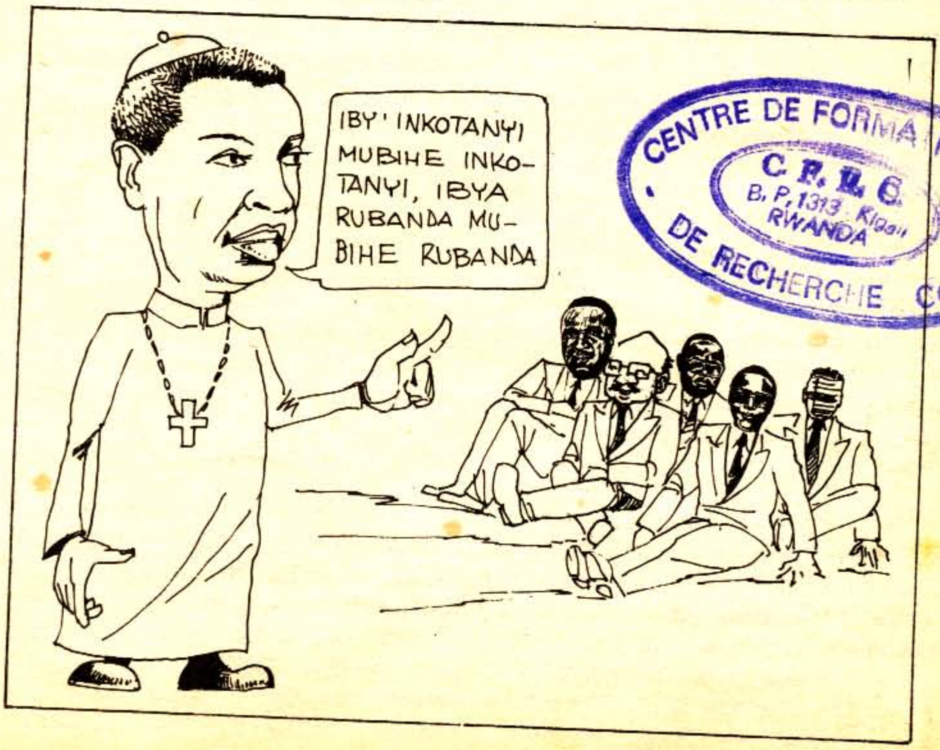
Ibijya gupfa bipfa kare. Umunsi mukuru w'abo basirikari, Generali Romeo Dallaire yemera ko Inkotanyi zitemberana imbunda, niwe wazigabije abaturage. Ejobundi, uwo musaza aherutse kwerurira abanyarwanda uwo ariwe n'ikimugenza. Nyuma y'aho inkotanyi zigabiye ibitero bibiri i Remera zikivugana inzirakarengane, Romeo Dallaire we yipfutse mu maso yemeza ko nta Nkotanyi yigeze irasa, nta muntu wapfuye, nta n'inkomere yabonye ! Nyamara bya bitero inkotanyi zo kuri CND zabigabye abaturage bareba, abapfuye ni abantu babo, barabazi, n'ikomere aho ziri mu bitaro zirazwi.

Aha rero niho ibintu bikomereye. Mu masezerano y'Arusha, batubwira ko abo basirikari ba MINUAR baje kubungabunga umutekano w'abanyarwanda bakabafasha gushyira mu bikorwa amasezerano bise ay'amahoro, yashyiriwe umukono Arusha, tariki ya 4/8/1993. None abo basirikari bakomeje kwitwara nk'aboherejwe gufasha inkotanyi gufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu. Ibintu rero bikwiye gusobanuka. Niba inkotanyi zariyemeje kutugandagura ni ukugandagurana. Maze ikibyimbye kimeneke. Ibihe turimo ni ukubyitondera kuko birakomeye. Kuvuga ko mu Rwanda hari ingabo mpuzamahanga ntibyabuza inkotanyi gushoza imirwano.

Mu w'1981 igihe Goukouni Wedeye yategekaga Tchad, umuryango w'ubumwe bw'Afurika wohereje ingabo kurinda amahoro. Nyamara se Hissein Habre warwanyaga ubutegetsi buriho ntiyabuhiritse akoresheje ingufu izo ngabo zirebera !

No mu Rwanda rero birashoboka. Inkotanyi nizimara kugota umurwa mukuru, zizahamagara izo ku Mulindi n'ibyitso byazo biri imbere mu gihugu, akaba kabe. Na none bizaba ngombwa ko rubanda nyamwinshi n'ingabo zayo birwanaho. Kuko burya aho kuba imbwa woba imva. ~~Icyo gihe hazameneka amaraso~~. Icyo gihe hazameneka amaraso menshi. Romeo Dallaire na MINUAR ye, ibyo bakora byose n'ibyo bajye babizirikana.

KANGURA.



PEREZIDA HABYARIMANA AZABE NKA MUSAFILI ILDEPHONSE WISINYIYE KWEGURA !

Kwibagirwa bibaho. Nibyo bita mu Kinyarwanda amazinda. Gusaza nabyo bibaho. Ntawabiziza undi. Kandi abageze mu zabukuru bakunda kwibagirwa. Ariko bikabije bitera benshi kwibaza, ku buryo hari abakeka ibindi ...

Abazi amateka y'u Rwanda bibuka inkuru y'umwami Rutarindwa, umuhungu wa Rwabugiri. Icyo gikomangoma cyimye ari umusore uzi ubwenge, uzi gushishoza. Uko iminsi igenda yigira imbere, akagenda aba ikijibwe kitazi gufata ibyemezo bya kigabo. Abanyamujyi muri iki gihe bamwita "iwazanga" cyangwa se "ihungwe", amagambo asobanura ikigoryi. Umunyamateka akaba n'umusizi, Musenyeri Alexis Kagame niwe utumenyesha mu gitabo yanditse ku mateka y'u Rwanda "Un abrégé de l'Histoire du Rwanda de 1853-1972", iby'uwo mwami, ku rupapuro rwa 108, 109-501. Aragira ati "avant son intronisation comme co-régnant, le prince Rutarindwa était un homme alerté et décidé. Mais progressivement, après sont intronisation, il devient indécis et hébété, au point de ne plus être capable de se résoudre à un parti".

Mu kinyarwanda ngo "mbere yuko igikomangoma Rutarindwa yimikwa yari umuntu ushabutse uzi gufata icyemezo kiboneye. Ariko amaze kwimikwa agenda ahinduka igicucu buhoro buhoro, agera aho atagishobora gufata icyemezo na busa..." Muri Repubulika ya II, hari umuminisitiri wari muri Guverinoma ya Habyarimana wasize nawe inkuru. Ni umusaza Musafiri Ildephonse, wayoboraga Minisiteri y'Ubuzima, akaza no kuba depite mu Nama y'Igihugu Iharanira Amajyambere. Iriya yirukanywe n'amasezerano y'Arusha. Uwo mukambwe rero ngo yari afite ingezo yo gusinya amadosiye atabanje kureba ikirimo, agasinya ahumirije. Abakozi be bari babizi. Rimwe rero reka bamutege umutego. Bamutegurira ibaruwa ubwe amenyesha Perezida wa Repubulika ko yeguye. Musafiri ayisinya atayisomye nk'uko asanzwe abigenza. Yohererezwa Perezida wa Repubulika, abibajije Musafiri, arumirwa. Ibyakurikiyeho murabizi, umusaza Musafiri yasimbujwe Nyakwigendera Muganza Fransisko. Iyi nkuru si impimbano yabayeho.

Perezida Habyarimana nawe aho ibihe bigeze ashobora kwisinyira ko yeguye atabizi. Kandi twari tumuziho ubushishozi. Hari ibyemezo byinshi bisigaye bifatwa ntabimenyeshwe cyangwa se bigafatwa mu kigwi cye. Muti kagire inkuru! Hambere aha Guverineri wa Banki Nasiyonari Ntirugirimbabazi aherutse kujya muri konji. Umukombozi Rugenera Mariko uyobora Minisiteri y'Imari yandikira mu ibanga umwungiriza wa Guverineri ngo ahite amusimbura ako kanya. Nyamara itegeko rivuga ko Perezida wa Repubulika ariwe ushyiraho Guverineri wa Banki Nasiyonari n'abayobozi bakuru bamufasha mu kazi, abinyujije mu Nama y'Abaminisitiri. None Rugenera Mariko yambuye ubwo burenganzira Umukuru w'Igihugu ahabwa n'itegeko !

Guverineri Ntirugirimbabazi amaze kubyumva yahitwaye kigabo. Yahise ahagarika konji asubira ku kazi, agira ngo amategeko yubahirizwe. Kuko uwo wamusimbuye yashyizweho ku buryo bwa forode bunyuranije n'amategeko. None Banki nasiyonari ifite abaguverineri babiri. Uwemewe n'amategeko ariwe Ntirugirimbabazi, n'uwo Rugenera Mariko yishyiriyeho. Mbese nk'uko byigeze kuba muri Zaire, igihe Guverineri Nyembo Shabani bamusimbuza undi mu buryo bufifitse ngo ni inzibacyuho nawe akanangira.

Perezida Habyarimana twizera ko azi neza ubwo butiriganya yararuciye ararumira. Rimwe azakanguka bamusimbuje undi. Ntitubimwifurije ariko se nawe ubwitonzi bwe burakabije !

KANGURA.

HABYARIMANA : GAHANGA KANANIYE ABAGUGUNNYI.

Si icyivugo gishyashya tumuhimbiye. Icyo yihimbiye yiyita Ikinani cyananiye abagome n'abagambanyi kirahagije kandi kiramubereye. Hari umukuru w'igihugu duhana imbibi wigeze kuvuga hambere ngo "Burundi bule, Zayire mayele, Rwanda makasi...". Si ukugarura ibya kera ariko iyo nteruro n'ubwo bwose itari mu gihe tugezemo isobanura byinshi. Uwayishyira mu bihe turimo mu Rwanda, tugenekereje twavuga ngo "Inkotanyi bule, Rukokoma mayele, Habyarimana makasi..."

Perezida Habyarimana ni umugabo wagiye asimbuka imitego myinshi. Ikinyamakuru cyandikirwa mu Burundi "Aube de la Démocratie", igihe Perezida Habyarimana asura nyakwigendera Melchior Ndadaye, cyaranditse kiti : "Habyarimana qui a consommé trois Président burundais": Mu kinyarwanda twavuga ngo "Habyarimana wirengeje aba Perezida batatu b'i Burundi". Icyo kinyamakuru mucyumve neza nticyashakaga kuvuga ko Habyarimana ariwe wahiritse abo ba Perezida batatu b'i Burundi, nibo ubwabo bagiye bahirikana. Micombero yahiritswe na Bagaza, Bagaza nawe ahirikwa na Buyoya: Icyo "L'aube de la démocratie" yashakaga kuvuga ni uko Habyarimana arambye ku butegetsi, afite ibanga yihariye. Perezida Habyarimana yatangiye politiki ari muto. Yahanganye n'inyenzi za Rukeba, Repubulika ikivuka, arazitsinda. Ahangana n'abanyamatiku bo muri Repubulika ya mbere. Muribuka inama abaminisitiri n'ibyegera bya Kayibanda barimo mu ijoro ry'uwa 4 rishyira uwa 5 Nyakanga 1973 icyo yari igamije. Bari banahamutsinze akizwa n'iya kare. Ibyakurikiyeho murabizi. Uwo wagombaga gupfa iryo joro niwe wayoboye igihugu kugeza magingo aya. Ntimwumve gutyo, Perezida Habyarimana imitego yasimbutse ni myinshi. Abari ibyegera bye, abajyanama be, abaminisitiri be, abashinzwe umutekano we, bashatse kumuhirika mu w'1980 nabwo ararusimbuka.

Abo ni Major Théoneste Lizinde (ubu wabaye Colonel-député mu nyenzi) wari ushinzwe ibiro bikuru bishinzwe iperereza (S.C.R.), na Colonel Alexis Kanyarengwe (ubu wabaye chairman mu nyenzi) wari ushinzwe ubutegetsi bw'igihugu. Abo bagabo ukuntu Habyarimana yabacitse nabo kugeza na nubu ntibari babisobanukirwa. Mu w'1990, inyenzi noneho ziyobowe na Rwigema zizi ari simusiga, zihaye iminsi itatu gusa yo kuba zamuvanye ku butegetsi Zikorwa n'ikimwaro. Iminsi itatu ib

imyaka itatu. Mu nyenzi zinjiriye i Kagitumba tariki ya 1/10/1990, inyinshi muri zo (niba atari zose zihasiga agatwe uhereye ku bayobozi bakuru bazo, Fred Rwigema, Peter Bayingana na Chris Bunyenyezi.

Habyarimana zimusiga akiri wa wundi. Hagati mu gihugu, abo yari yaragabiye, bibumbira mu mashyaka, biyunga n'inyenzi, barakotana biratinda, ngo barashaka guhirika Habyarimana. Basanga ni urutare ! Niko kubishongoraho ngo ni ikinani cyananiye abagome n'abagambanyi. Abamwumvise nabi nibo bakwije inkuru zigamije gusebanya no guteranya ngo abagome ni abatutsi, abagambanyi ni abanyenduga. Nyamara ababwira ko ntacyo atakoze ngo abatutsi bamerewe neza kandi nabo barabizi. Nabiyita abanyenduga nabo nibo yagabiye imyanya ikomeye bihutira gusahura igihugu ngo ni uguhimana. Gatabazi siwe wampakanya ! Nyamara icyo Habyarimana yashakaga kuvuga yiyita ikinani cyananiye abagome n'abagambanyi ni iki. Abagome ni inyenzi zateye u Rwanda, zikabuza amahoro abaturage, zikica inzirakarengane. Abagambanyi ni abo bose bifatanije nazo mu kurimbura abanyarwanda, bakurikiye inyungu zabo bwite.

Abo bagambanyi ntibashizwe, bagiye Arusha gucura indi migambi mibi n'Inkotanyi, bakubitaho ngo ni amasezerano y'amahoro. Habyarimana arabihorera kuko yabonaga umutego bamuteze. Ngo bari bamutegeye kuri tariki 5/01/94, umunsi wo gushyiraho ubutegetsi bw'inzibacyuho yaguye nabwo barumirwa. Ararahira, ajya mu nzibacyuho (yaguye kuri nde ?) wenyine. Ngo umutego mutindi wica nyirawo. Bamwe bamurwanyaga nibo basubiranyemo !

NGEZE HASSAN



Ndi igiti kitanbwa
Ndi umuhanga mu guhindura ibihe
Ubihakana azabaze iz'amarere zo namariye ku icumu
Ubwo hari muri za 60 kugeza muri za 70
Ubwo abitwaga inyenzi zigabizaga urwababyaye
Ubwo nari mu bakuru b'inzirabwoba
Inyenzi turazicucuma
Tuzikwiza imishwaro
Ntibiteye kabiri muri za 80
Ibyitso byazo byasigaye
Bishatse kubyutsa umutwe
Nsaba Ikinani ko twabimarira ku icumu
Nibwo Kinani anteye utwatsi
Mpitamo kumuhirika
Aba yantahuye
Ashatse kunya iya gereza
Mba muteye imboni
Nibwo mfashe iy'ubusamo
Ngezeyo mpurirana n'abuzukuru b'izacitse ku icumu
Nsanga baribagiwe ibyo nakoreye base na ba sekuru
Nibwo bansabye kubabera ku isonga
Ngo mbasubize aho nahambye abakurambere bazo
Mbereka ko byose bishoboka
Nibwo mbashoye imbere
Inzirabwoba zibica urubozo
Mwarabibonye za Ryabega, Nyagatare, Namuhemure n'ahandi...
Hose ingona n'impyisi ziracyarya imirambo yazo
Ndaje ruti rutaribwa
Ngo mfatanye nabo twari kumwe
Ubwo inzirabwoba zashingwaga
Ngo turebe uko tugota izitahutse
Maze tuzibuze kongera guhunga
Tuzerekeze iyo twerekeje ba sekuru
Ndaje ruti rutaribwa
Uwo abanzi batinya kubwira icyo bantekerezaho
Ubihakana azarebe uko bizaba bimeze mu myaka itaha
Mundeke mbanze ncakire ibyicaro
Maze mbereke ko Sebatunzi ntacyo apfana na bene Sebahinzi
Nibiba ngombwa mbereke icyatumye banyibeshyaho
Murangaye guhera
Ntimungaye gutinda
Kandi nazo zizi ko umusatsi wanjye utaramera





